

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 TOKYO 9571

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E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP, JA, (MIKI TAKEO)

SUBJECT: MIKI VISIT - PRIME MINISTER'S VIEW

SUMMARY DURING AN EXTENDED LUNCHEON CONVERSATION WITH ME JULY 15, PRIMIN MIKI DISCUSSED HIS FORTHCOMING VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND MEETINGS WITH THE PRESIDENT. WHILE HE GAVE US LITTLE SPECIFIC GUIDANCE ON INDIVIDUAL SUBJECTS THAT MAY ARISE IN THE TALKS, HIS FORTHCOMINGDISCUSSION OF HIS PURPOSES AT THE SUMMIT AND PHILOSPHICAL VIEWS ON SEVERAL GENERAL PROBLEM AREAS PROVIDED A GOOD FEEL FOR HIS PERSONAL APPROACH TOHIS MEETINGSWITH THE PRESIDENT. WE HOPE TO GET FURTHER INPUTS THROUGH THE FONOFF STAFF ASSIGNED TO PREPARE CONCRETE SUBSTANCE ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS. END SUMMARY.

1. I MET WITH PRIME MINISTER MIKI JULY 15 AT HIS INVITATION FOR LUNCH AT HIS OFFICIAL RESIDENCE, ACCOMPANIED BY DCM AND POLCOUNS. PRESENT ALSO ON JAPANESE SIDE WERE FONOFF AMERICAN AFFAIRS BUREAU DIRGEN YAMAZAKI, PM PRIVATE SECRETARY KITAMURA, AND DEPUTY MIMISTER YOSHINO, WHO HAS BEEN DESIGNATED TO COORDINATE PREPARATIONS FOR MIKI VISIT WITHIN GOJ, NUMATA (FIRST NA AFFAIRS DIV) INTERPRETED.

2. GENERAL CONCEPT OF VISIT: AFTER PROTRACTED SMALL TALK, MIKI LAUNCHED DISCUSSION OF VISIT WITH A CONFIDENTIAL

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STRONGLY FELT AND LOFTY PRESENTATION OF HIS CONCEPTION OF THE NATURE OF THE OPPORTUNITY OFFERED BY SUMMIT AT THIS TIME. HE SAID HE SEES HIS MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT AS BEING CRUCIALLY IMPORTANT FOR JAPAN AT

THIS POINT IN HISTORY. IT IS PERIOD OF GREAT CHANGES IN ASIA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD. IT IS TIME WHEN THERE ARE NO SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP TO TROUBLE THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. THESE CIRCUMSTANCES PROVIDE UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO ENGAGE IN OPEN, CANDID TALK ABOUT EVERYTHING THAT IS OF COMMON CONCERN. ONLY IN THE ABSENCE OF SPECIFIC PROBLEMS CAN SUCH A DIALOGUE TAKE PLACE. IT IS HIS EARNEST THAT HIS TALKS WITH THE PRESIDENT WILL SERVE TO DEEPEN THE UNDERSTANDING AND BASIS FOR LONG TERM COOPERATION BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE U.S. THAT IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO PEACE AND STABILITY IN ASIA AND PROGRESS IN MEETING THE WORLD'S GREAT PROBLEM. MIKI SAID HE FEELS IT INCUMBENT ON THE LEADERS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES TO UNDERTAKE IN THIS SUMMIT TO CONFIRM AND DEEPEN THE RELATIONSHIP IN THE EYES OF THEIR PEOPLES AND THE WORLD.

3. SOUTHEAST ASIA - TURNING TO THE SITUATION IN ASIA IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE FALL OF SOUTH VIETNAM, THE PRIME MINISTER STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF ASSESSING CAREFULLY THE EFFECT OF THAT DEVELOPMENT ON THE REST OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. HE MENTIONED THAT HE HAD REQUESTED DR. OKITA (HEAD OF OVERSEAS ECONOMIC COOPERATION FUND AND ONE OF MIKI'S BRAIN TRUSTERS) TO TOUR THE AREA FOR THAT PURPOSE AND THAT JAPANESE AMBASSADORS IN THE REGION CURRENTLY ARE MEETING FOR SUCH DISCUSSIONS. HE HOPES TO COMPARE ASSESSMENTS WITH THE PRESIDENT AND ALSO TO DISCUSS HOW JAPAN AND THE U.S. MIGHT COOPERATE IN DEALING WITH THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA.

4. THE "NORTH-SOUTH" PROBLEM AND GLOBAL ECONOMIC ISSUES A SECOND MAJOR AREA OF MUTUAL CONCERN, IN MIKI'S VIEW, IS THE "NORTH-SOUTH" PROBLEM. HE DESCRIBED THE NEED TO DEVELOP GREATER UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE ADVANCED INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES AND THE CONFIDENTIAL

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DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AS ONE OF THE MOST PRESSING ISSUES OF OUR TIME, AND HE LOOKED FORWARD TO AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH THE PRESIDENT ON THIS SUBJECT. ALTHOUGH PASSING REFERENCE WAS MADE IN THIS CONTEXT TO THE OIL PRODUCING-CONSUMER COUNTRY RELATIONSHIP, MIKI DID NOT GIVE THIS PARTICULAR EMPHASIS. SIMILARLY, HE REFERRED TO THE IMPORTANCE OF U.S. JAPAN COOPERATION IN DEALING WITH GLOBAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS BUT DID NOT SINGLE OUT ANY FOR PARTICULAR ATTENTION.

5. CHINA POLICY- WHEN QUESTIONED IF HE FELT THAT OUR RESPECTIVE CHINA POLICIES WERE PROCEEDING ALONG SIMILAR LINES AND WHETHER AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT

WHICH HAS OCCUPIED MUCH OF HIS ATTENTION RECENTLY,
MIGHT BE USEFUL, MIKI REPLIED THAT WHILE OUR POLICIES
ARE BASICALLY IN ACCORD, HE FELT A MORE FRANK DISCUSSION
IS NEEDED ON OUR RESPECTIVE LONG-TERM VIEWS OF RELATIONS
WITH CHINA. HE STOPPED FROM THIS POINT TO EMPHASIZE
THE NEED IN THE U.S.-JAPAN DIALOGUE FOR "TOUCHING

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ON THINGS WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN TOUCHED ON THIS FAR"
FOR USING THIS OPPORTUNITY WHEN THERE ARE NO SERIOUS
BILATERAL PROBLEMS TO EXPLORE AREAS OF COMMON CONCERN
WHERE COMPLETE CANDOR MAY NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE HERE-
TOFORE. (MY GUESS IS THAT MIKI HAD IN MIND U.S.
POLICY TOWARD THE "ULTIMATE" SETTLEMENT OF THE "TAIWAN
PROBLEM," SINCE THE FOREIGN OFFICE HERE HAS INTIMATED
HE MAY RAISE THIS SUBJECT DURING HIS TALKS IN
WASHINGTON.)

6. SECURITY: LARGELY IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS, THE
PRIME MINISTER STATED THAT KOREA IS ESSENTIAL TO THE
SECURITY OF JAPAN. HE SAID JAPANESE PEOPLE FEEL THIS
IMPORTANCE IN THEIR BONES, EVEN THOUGH THEY DO NOT OFTEN
VERBALIZE IT. HE AGREED THAT ANY DETERIORATION OF THE
SITUATION IN KOREA WOULD BE OF DEEP CONCERN TO JAPAN,
THAT A FREE AND NON-COMMUNIST KOREA IS IMPORTANT TO
JAPAN'S INTERESTS, AND THAT CLOSE U.S. JAPAN COOPERATION
PROVIDES AN IMPORTANT AND NECESSARY DETERRENT TO THE
OUTBREAK OF TENSION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA. MIKI SAID
HE FELT THAT THE GENERAL SECURITY SITUATION IN NORTH-
EAST ASIA SHOULD BE ONE OF THE IMPORTANT AREAS OF
DISCUSSION IN WASHINGTON. I EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT
DURING HIS VISIT TO THE U.S. HE COULD MAKE CLEAR TO
THE AMERICAN PUBLIC THIS VIEW OF THE IMPORTANCE
JAPAN ATTACHES TO THE SECURITY OF THE ROK AND
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STABILITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA.

7. IMPORTANCE OF U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP: THE PRIME MINISTER THEN SPOKE AT SOME LENGTH ON THE IMPORTANCE HE ATTACHES TO THE U.S. -JAPAN RELATIONSHIP. HE SAID HE ALWAYS FELT JAPAN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO IS NATIONAL EXISTANCE AND TO PEACE AND STABILITY IN NORTHEAST ASIA. DESPITE THE VARIOUS AND CONFLICING VIEWS EXPRESSED IN JAPAN, THE CENTRALITY OF IMPORTANCE OF THE U.S. RELATIOSHAP TO JAPAN IS NOT CHALLENGED BY ANYONE. MIKE SAID HE HAS LONG EMPHAISIZED HIS VIEW THA THIS RELATIONSHIP SHOULD NOT BE VIEWED IN MILITARY SECURITY TERMS ONLY, SINCE IT ALSO EMBODIES POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION. HE FEELS THAT THE "MOOD" CONCERNING THE U.S. JAPAN RELATIONSHIP HAS CHANGED IN JAPAN--AND IN FACT THROUGHOUT ASIA--AND THE DEVELOPING APPRECIATION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE UVS. GBLE IS A GOOD THING.

8 WHALES: I MENTIONED THE WHALING PROBLEM AS ONE WHICH HAS EMOTIONAL PUBLIC SUPPORT IN THE U.S. AND SUGGESTED HE BE PREPARED TO RESPOND ON IT, MIKI ACKNOWLEDGED THE SERIOUSNESS OF THAT PROBLEM BUT INDICATED THAT GOJ HAS NO GOOD IDEA AS TO HOW TO MEET IT. HE SAID THAT, BECAUS OF DOMESTIC ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN JAPAN, HE CANNOT PROMISE TO CEASE WHALING ENTIRELY. YET, THERE IS AN ELEMENT IN THE U.S. THAT WILL ACCEPT ONYL THAT. HE THOUGHT HE WOULD HAVE TO RESPOND TO QUESTIONS ON WHALES BY RERERENCE TO JAPAN'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE POSITION ADOPTED AT THE RECENT INTERNATIONAL WHALING COMMISSION MEETING--SHARP LIMITATION ON CATCH BASED ON SCIENTIFIC DATA (HE RE-EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE IN JAPAN OF THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR CURRENT AGREEMENT).

9. DOMESTIC POLIICCAL SITUATION: THE PRIME MINISTER VOLUNTEERED AN ANIMATED DISCUSSION OF CURRENT UNSETTLED POLITICAL SITUATION RESULTING FROM HIS STRAGEGY WITHIN LDP AND WITHIN DIET DURING RECENT EXTENEDED SESSION. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HIS INSISTENCE ON DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION WITH OPPOSITION PARTIES HAD CUASED SOME CONFIDENTIAL

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"CONFUSION" IN AL PARTIES. HE OBSERVED PARTICULARLY THAT LDP ELEMENTS ARE CRITICIZING HIM FOR HAVING GONE TO FAR WITH STRATEGY. MIKI INSISTED, HOWEVER, THAT WITH THE CURRENT SLIM LDP DIET MAJORITY IT IS IMPORTANT TO ESTABLISH SME KIND OF A COMMUNITY OF ITERESTS WITH THE OPPOSITION, ESPECIALLY ON

FOREIGN POLICY AND SECURITY ISSUES. HE SAID THE PRESENT SYSTEM WILL NOT BE VIABLE OVER THE LONGER TERM IF THE ALMOST TOTAL GAP BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION PERSISTS. UNLESS SOMETHING IS DONE TO FORCE THE LDP TO RECKON WITH NEED FOR SOME OPPOSITION PARTICIPATION IN MATTERS OF NATIONAL CONCERN, AND TO FORCE THE OPPOSITION TO ASSUME MORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE NATIONAL INTEREST, AS HAPPENED IN THE RECENT DIET FOR THE FIRST TIME IN POSTWAR HISTORY, THE JAPANESE PEOPLE AS WELL AS FRIENDS ABROAD WILL GROW APPREHENSIVE ABOUT JAPAN'S COURSE SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT CHANGE HANDS. MIKI SAID HE WAS CONVINCED THAT THIS PROCESS OF REFORM IN JAPAN'S PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IS ESSENTIAL, AND HE IS CONFIDENT THAT THE PROCESS CAN AND SHOULD BE LAUNCHED NOW. IN A FOOTNOTE, MIKI OBSERVED THAT THE OPPOSITION PARTIES ARE NOW DEMANDING THE ESTABLISHMENT IN THE DIET OF A SECURITY COMMITTEE AS A FORUM IN WHICH THESE PROBLEMS MAY BE DISCUSSED FULLY AND PUBLICLY. HE COUNTED THIS ONE

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RESULT OF HIS STRATEGY, A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT.

10. COMMENT: AS MIGHT HAVE BEEN ANTICIPATED FROM WHAT WE KNOW OF MIKI'S PERSONALITY AND STYLE OF OPERATION IN OFFICE, WE GOT VERY LITTLE SPECIFIC GUIDANCE ON A SUMMIT AGENDA. (MIKI AIRILY SUGGESTED THAT SPECIFIC ITEMS COULD BE DEVELOPED AT THE WORKING LEVEL.) MIKI WAS RELAXED AND FORTHCOMING, HOWEVER, AND THE TONE AND LEVEL OF HIS REMARKS REFLECTED WHAT I BELIEVE WILL BE HIS APPROACH TO HIS MEETINGS WITH THE PRESIDENT. WE MAY BE RECEIVING FURTHER INPUTS THROUGH YOSHINO, AS PULLS TOGETHER THE CONCERT SUBSTANCE OF THE MIKI APPROACH TO VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

11. BASED ON MY IMPRESSIONS FROM THS MEETING, I THINK THE FOLLOWING GENERAL CONCLUSIONS MAY BE DRAWN CONCERNING WHAT MIKI LOOKS FORFROM THISFIRST MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT:

A. MIKI CONSIDERS THIS TRIP HIGHLY IMPORTANT, CERTAINLY FOR HIMSELF POLITICALLY, BUT ALSO PROBABLY FOR JAPAN AND ITS LONG TERM RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. HIS CONCEPTION THAT THE TIMING OF THE SUMMIT, IN THE MIDST OF FAR-REACHING CHANGES IN ASIA AND ON-GOING GLOBAL PROBLEMS, AND IN THE ABSENCE OF SERIOUS BILATERAL PROBLEMS, OFFERS SPECIAL OPPORTUNITY FOR CANDID, CONFIDENTIAL

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OPEN DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES HAS MERIT. B. MIKI SEEMS TO HOPE THAT HIS PERSONAL CONTRIBUTION TO U.S. JAPAN SUMMIT TRADITION WILL IN FACT, BE TO DEMONSTRATE IN THE VISIT AND IN THE RELATIONSHIP AFTERWARDS THAT HE WAS ACCEPTED BY U.S. LEADERSHIP AS A LEADER IN HIS OWN RIGHT AND SUCCESSFUL IN ADDING A NEW AND DEEPER QUALITY TO OUR CONSULTATIONS. THIS THOUGHT MAY HAVE POINT IN

THE CONCERN AT TIMES HEARD IN HIS PARTY THAT HE WILL BE TAKEN AS A LIGHTWEIGHT AND THAT HE DOES NOT HAVE THE CAPABILITY TO ENGAGE THE U.S. IN AN EXCHANGE THAT WILL ADVANCE THE RELATIONSHIP.

C. MIKI SEEMED TO BE SPEAK--BUT ONLY BRIEFLY--AN APPRECIATION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF VARIOUS ECONOMIC SUBJECTS THAT MIGHT BE CONSIDERED FOR DISCUSSION. HE GAVE VERY LITTLE ATTENTION IN TUESDAY'S CONVERSATION, HOWEVER.

D. SECURITY IS CONSIDERED BY MIKI TO BE AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE SUMMIT AGENDA, BUT HE SEES IT ALMOST ENTIRELY IN A BROAD STRATEGIC CONTEXT AND PROBABLY DOES NOT WISH TO BECOME ENGAGED IN DETAILED MILITARY SECURITY QUESTIONS. KOREA, HOWEVER, DOES SEEM TO BE HIGH ON THE LIST OF HIS INTERESTS AND HE PROBABLY EXPECTS TO DISCUSS THE MANNER IN WHICH THE US AND JAPAN MIGHT COOPERATE IN MAINTAINING PEACE AND SECURITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA. HODGSON

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